

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 299917 TOSEC 320152

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 299917 TOSEC 320152

NODIS

FROM SCHAUFLE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS:PFOR, RH, TA

SUBJECT: REPEATING TEXT OF YOUR AUGUST 31 LETTER TO
PRESIDENT NYERERE

1. FOLLOWING PARAS REPEAT TEXT OF LETTER YOU SENT TO
NYERERE VIA STATE 216022 (DTG 312117Z AUG 76). IT IS
POSSIBLY THIS LETTER RATHER THAN SEPT 1 LETTER TO KAUNDA
(REPEATED SEPTTEL) THAT IS REFERRED TO IN LONDON DAILY MAIL
ARTICLE OF DEC 6, WHICH WOULD INDICATE LEAK MAY BE FROM
TANZANIAN RATHER THAN ZAMBIAN SOURCE.

2. BEGIN TEXT: "DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I HAVE NOW HAD AN
OPPORTUNITY TO HEAR FROM UNDER SECRETARY ROGERS DIRECTLY
OF THE MEETINGS HE AND AMBASSADOR SCHAUFLE HAD WITH YOU,
AND TO REFLECT ON THEIR REPORTS. I HAVE ALSO READ YOUR
COGENT MESSAGE AND GIVEN CAREFUL THOUGHT TO THE POINTS YOU
MADE. LET ME SAY AGAIN HOW GRATEFUL I AM FOR YOUR WISE
AND VALUABLE COMMENTS ON THE CRITICAL PROBLEMS OF NAMIBIA
AND RHODESIA. IT SEEMS TO ME CLEAR, FROM WHAT YOU HAVE
SAID, THAT OUR HOPES FOR MAKING RAPID PROGRESS IN SETTLING
NAMIBIA ARE BETTER THAN IN FINDING A SOLUTION FOR THE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 299917 TOSEC 320152

RHODESIAN PROBLEM, AND THAT WE FACE IMPORTANT DIFFICULTIES

IN BOTH SITUATIONS.

3. "I WILL ADDRESS THESE ISSUES IN A STATEMENT I SHALL MAKE IN A FEW HOURS IN PHILADELPHIA. I HAVE ASKED OUR AMBASSADOR TO ENSURE THAT YOU SEE THAT STATEMENT IMMEDIATELY. I WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR COMMENTS. YOU WILL SEE THAT MY SPEECH REFLECTS THE ADVICE YOU GAVE ME.

4. "I WILL, AS YOU ALSO KNOW, BE MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER IN ZURICH ON THE WEEKEND. ASSUMING THAT I CAN MAKE PROGRESS WITH VORSTER ON EITHER OR BOTH NAMIBIA OR ZIMBABWE, I WOULD BE PREPARED TO COME TO AFRICA IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THOSE TALKS. I WOULD PROPOSE TO BE IN DAR ES SALAAM ON WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 8, FOR TALKS WEDNESDAY NIGHT AND THURSDAY, IF THIS IS CONVENIENT AND DESIRABLE FROM YOUR POINT OF VIEW. I WOULD LEAVE FOR LUSAKA EITHER THURSDAY AFTERNOON OR FRIDAY MORNING.

5. "THESE PLANS, OF COURSE, ARE TENTATIVE FOR THE MOMENT, UNTIL I KNOW THE RESULTS OF MY MEETINGS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT, BASED ON THOSE DISCUSSIONS, IT MAY SEEM TO BOTH YOU AND ME BETTER THAT I SEND UNDER SECRETARY ROGERS AND AMBASSADOR SCHAUFLE INSTEAD, TO CONTINUE OUR CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE AFRICAN LEADERSHIP.

6. "YOUR IDEA THAT WE BREAK THE TWO PROBLEMS APART AND THINK OF THEM AS PROCEEDING ON SEPARATE TRACKS AND AT DIFFERENT RATES OF SPEED MAY WELL HAVE MERIT. I WOULD LIKE TO EXPLORE THIS AND OTHER POSSIBILITIES DIRECTLY WITH YOU. MY PLANS TO VISIT DAR ES SALAAM ARE ALSO VERY MUCH DEPENDENT ON YOUR JUDGMENT THAT SUCH A TRIP WOULD BE PRODUCTIVE. MY DECISION WILL TURN ON WHETHER YOU FEEL, ASSUMING A FAVORABLE REACTION FROM VORSTER, THAT WE CAN RESOLVE THE NAMIBIAN CRISIS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK WHICH ROGERS AND SCHAUFLE EXPLAINED TO YOU AND MAKE PROGRESS TOWARDS A SOLUTION IN RHODESIA.

"A. WITH RESPECT TO NAMIBIA, IT IS ESSENTIAL BEFORE I UNDERTAKE THIS TRIP THAT I HAVE YOUR ANALYSIS ON WHETHER
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 299917 TOSEC 320152

AN AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED WITH SWAPO WHICH WILL ENJOY YOUR SUPPORT. AN AGREEMENT ON NAMIBIA WOULD BE BASED ON:

(A) MOVING THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE PRESENTLY MEETING IN WINDHOEK TO GENEVA; (B) INCLUDING SWAPO IN THE GENEVA MEETING; (C) CONFIRMATION OF A FIXED DATE FOR NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE. FURTHERMORE, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT I WILL MAKE MY BEST EFFORT TO SEE THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THE

POLITICAL PRISONERS SWAPO WISHES RELEASED ARE SET FREE IN TIME FOR THE OPENING OF THE GENEVA TALKS.

"B. CONCERNING ZIMBABWE, I UNDERSTAND YOUR REASONS FOR BELIEVING THAT THE SITUATION MAY NOT BE READY FOR A SETTLEMENT. I KNOW THAT YOU AGREE THAT WE OWE OUR NATIONS AND THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE AN ALL OUT EFFORT TO SECURE AGREEMENT BEFORE THE SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY WORSENS. BUT I DO NOT INSIST ON ACHIEVING A SETTLEMENT DURING THIS VISIT. IT IS IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, IN DECIDING ON MY TRAVEL TO AFRICA TO KNOW WHETHER YOU THINK PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. YOU ARE AWARE OF THE FRAMEWORK I PROPOSE FOR A SETTLEMENT. IT INVOLVES: (A) THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IN FAVOR OF A BLACK MAJORITY GOVERNMENT OF TRANSITION; (B) THE DRAFTING OF A CONSTITUTION WHICH INCLUDES BASIC PROTECTION FOR MINORITY RIGHTS; (C) FULL INDEPENDENCE UNDER MAJORITY RULE IN 18 MONTHS, TWO YEARS, OR EARLIER.

7. "OF COURSE, A CRUCIAL ELEMENT TO THE SUCCESS OF THIS UNDERTAKING WOULD BE THE ABILITY OF THE ZIMBABWEAN NATIONAL LEADERS TO UNIFY THEMSELVES FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. I WILL BE MUCH INTERESTED IN THE OUTCOME OF YOUR EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD.

8. "I DO NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE EXTRAORDINARY DIFFICULTY OF ACHIEVING UNDERSTANDING WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER EVEN ON THESE BASIC PROPOSALS. IF I DO SO, HOWEVER, AND IF I AM TO COME TO AFRICA TO DISCUSS THEM WITH YOU AND PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND OTHERS, I WOULD NEED TO HAVE A REASONABLE CERTAINTY BEFORE I LEAVE ZURICH THAT THESE PROPOSALS MEET THE NEEDS OF AFRICA, AND THAT THERE WILL NOT BE NEW UNANTICIPATED CONDITIONS WHICH WILL BE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 299917 TOSEC 320152

ADVANCED AFTER THE ZURICH MEETINGS WHEN I ARRIVE.

9. "I LEAVE WASHINGTON FOR EUROPE THIS FRIDAY AND WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH TO HEAR FROM YOU IF POSSIBLE BEFORE THEN.

10. "I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU. THOUGH THE DIFFICULTIES ARE GREAT, WE MUST NOT MISS THIS TRANSITORY OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESS ON TWO ISSUES OF PROFOUND CONCERN TO THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA AND OF THE WORLD.

11. "SINCERELY YOURS, HENRY A. KISSINGER." END TEXT. ROBINSON

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